

Message Text

PAGE 01 JAKART 10450 100739Z

13
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAJ-01 SAM-01 OMB-01 /071 W
----- 067635

R 100525Z AUG 76
FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6102
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
USLO PEKING
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L JAKARTA 10450

//C O R R E C T E D COPY - ADDING EO 11652, TAGS, AND SUBJECT//

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR UR XC
SUBJECT: SOVIETS AND SOUTHEAST ASIA: ONE YEAR LATER

REFS: A) RANGOON 2705, B) KUALA LUMPUR 4347, C) MOSCOW 7247,
D) RANGOON 2391 (NOT RECEIVED JAKARTA)

1. WE HAVE READ WITH INTEREST AMBASSADOR UNDERHILL'S ANALYSIS
OF US POSITION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. VIEW FROM INDONESIA SUG-
GESTS THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENCES IN APPROACH IN EACH COUNTRY
WHICH MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO APPLY ANALYSIS IN ONE TO ALL.

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PAGE 02 JAKART 10450 100739Z

2. WE DO NOT TAKE ISSUE WITH AMBASSADOR UNDERHILL'S BASIC
THESIS THAT THERE IS PERVASIVE AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN AREA
DESPITE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS. IN INDONESIA, HOWEVER, PER-
VASIVE COMMERCIAL INVESTMENT AND CULTURAL PRESENCE DO NOT,

IN VIEW OF MILITARY LEADERSHIP HERE, TAKE PLACE OF CREDIBLE US MILITARY PRESENCE IN AREA. IF THERE IS SOME CHANGE IN ATMOSPHERE TOWARD US IN INDONESIA IT COMES AS MUCH FROM DOUBTS ABOUT OUR FUTURE STRATEGIC PRESENCE AS IT DOES FROM DOUBTS ABOUT FUTURE INVESTMENT.

3. HOWEVER REMOTE ACTUAL CONFLICT BETWEEN US AND SOVIETS MAY BE, INDONESIANS CONTINUE TO ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO ADEQUATE BALANCE. IMPLICATIONS THAT WE WERE PREPARED VOLUNTARILY TO WITHDRAW MILITARY PRESENCE FROM THIS AREA WOULD NOT BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL TO OUR OVERALL POSITION IN INDONESIA.

4. FOR THIS REASON WE HAVE DEFINITE RESERVATIONS RE AMBASSADOR UNDERHILL'S FINAL RECOMMENDATION FOR US POLICY (REFTEL B, FINAL PARA) THAT THE USG SHOULD ENDORSE PUBLICLY THE ZONE OF PEACE, FREEDOM AND NEUTRALITY. TO DO SO, WE ARE CONVINCED, WOULD BUT PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR NEW PRESSURES UPON US HERE IN INDONESIA, E.G., PRESSURES FOR NOTIFICATION ON WARSHIP TRANSIT, QUESTIONS RE RELATIONSHIP TO PHILIPPINE BASES, AND FURTHER PRESSURES TO REMOVE INDIAN OCEAN NAVAL PRESENCE INCLUDING DIEGO GARCIA INSTALLATION. OUR PUBLIC ENDORSEMENT, IN EFFECT, WOULD STIMULATE PUBLIC DEMANDS WHICH THE REGIME, WHATEVER ITS TRUE OPINION RE OUR PRESENCE, WOULD BE UNABLE TO OPPOSE.

5. WE SHOULD, ON OTHER HAND, NOT OPPOSE ZONE CONCEPT. AS IN THE CASE OF ASEAN, WE SHOULD SAY AS LITTLE AS POSSIBLE AND ALLOW IT TO PROCEED AS ITS OWN PACE; TO SUCCEED OR FAIL IN ITS OWN GOOD TIME AND AS A RESULT OF THE EFFORTS OF THE NATIONS CONCERNED. NEITHER THE SOVIETS NOR THE PRC HAS BACKED IT SPECIFICALLY. THERE WILL BE ADEQUATE TIME FOR ENDORSEMENT IF THE ZONE APPROACHES REALITY AND OTHER MAJOR POWERS DEMONSTRATE A GENUINE INTEREST IN SUCH A CONCEPT.

6. AS IS IMPLICIT IN THE REFTELS AS A WHOLE, THE CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN TODAY IN SEA ARE THAT WHILE THE US POSITION IS NO LONGER PREDOMINANT AND THAT INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND MILITARY POSITIONS HAVE BEEN CHANGING, THE AMERICAN ROLE REMAINS AN IMPORTANT ONE TO BE MAINTAINED BY A CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED MIX OF TRADITIONAL DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY MEANS. NO SINGLE PROGRAM CAN FIT ALL THE COUNTRIES, BUT OVER ALL THERE MUST BE MAINTAINED THE UMBRELLA OF CONTINUED US INTEREST, PRESENCE AND CONFIDENCE.

PAGE 03 JAKART 10450 100739Z

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To: STATE INFO BANGKOK
CANBERRA
MANILA
MOSCOW
SINGAPORE
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